

PEACE NEWS

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Non-violent resistance in Norway

A FIRST-HAND ACCOUNT

By MYRTLE WRIGHT

who lived in German-occupied Norway for four years. She was caught there on a visit at the time of the German invasion in April, 1940, and returned to Britain three months ago, having been in Sweden since February last year.

"YOU are a pacifist," said the Gestapo man who interviewed me in October, 1940, "that means peace at any price." "No, struggle, but not with any weapon," I would have replied now.

The Norwegians are by no means pacifists; in fact those who claim to be so are very few. One of them has died in a concentration camp in Germany because he refused to sign a declaration that he would not lecture in public.

Yet in June, 1940, the Norwegian people, by force of circumstances, were left unarmed to resist first the use of their country as a military base for German war operations, and then the planned attempt to turn their government and national life into a Nazi State as part of the New Order in Europe. In this latter part of the struggle they have been completely successful.

Though a so-called Government under the leadership of Vidkun Quisling nominally rules the country, and is backed by the Gestapo and the power of the German military force, yet the effective control of the Nazis is nominal after nearly five years of struggle. From the beginning all but a very small minority of the Norwegians have said "No" to all attempts of the "Government" to make their control effective.

Boycott

The Judges of the High Court of Justice resigned in 1940 rather than administer laws which were unconstitutional. Business and professional men have individually and collectively refused to remain members of their organizations when Nazi leaders have been forcibly put in control.

The fight of the teachers is well known and they have saved the schools from any infiltration of National Socialist teaching or direction, except where an individual Nazi uses his or her authority. Even the children are able to offer resistance of their own. In an Oslo school where oatmeal soup supplied by a Swedish relief organization, was distributed in the middle of the morn-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

A FARMER'S CHALLENGE

A MAGNIFICENT donation of £50 from a farmer "in slight appreciation of the good work you are doing in the cause of peace and the enjoyment I get from reading PN weekly, especially 'Observer's' Commentary," brings the fortnightly total of the Peace News fund to the highest figure for a year.

Moreover the same donor has offered us a further £50 on condition that by the end of the year the fund reaches £7,000. That means, roughly, that the fortnightly totals must

HOW THE U.S.A. COULD SAVE THE PEACE

WHAT hope there is of escape from the orgy of destruction now depends, I think, on the forthrightness and courage of the policy of the United States. At present it has neither. It is intolerably confused. President Roosevelt said, in his annual message:

"Let us not forget that the retreat to isolation a quarter of a century ago was started, not by a direct attack against international co-operation, but against the alleged imperfections of the peace. . . . We gave up all hope of gradually achieving a better peace because we had not the courage to fulfil our responsibilities in an admittedly imperfect world."

How can one reconcile this with the public statements of President Roosevelt's Secretary of the State Department, Mr. Stettinius, with regard to (1) Poland and (2) British policy in Italy and Greece? The one reaffirmed "the traditional policy" of the US not to guarantee European frontiers; the other was a manifestation of precisely that "perfectionism" which Mr. Roosevelt criticizes.

Possibly, they were solely for domestic consumption: one tit-bit for the pure isolationists, the other for the idealists, who though theoretically opposed to one another are liable to march together as political forces. But, if the statements were meant for domestic consumption, it is surely a dangerous game to play. It is arming the resistance—to US participation in any system of world-security.

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Feeding German resistance

MR. Roosevelt by his message may have intended to correct this impression. But who will be reassured by his affirmation of American determination "not to shrink from the political responsibilities which follow in the wake of battle"? In the first promise will be fulfilled; in the second, the European framework now being knocked together is one that no nation in its senses could guarantee. In order to provide for the 2½ million Poles who are on the Russian side of the Curzon line, 10 million Germans are to be driven out of purely German provinces.

"Here is blazing fuel which we are recklessly presenting to the Nazi underground movement: there will be no need for its agents to stoke the fires of hatred and revenge. I ask myself whether, against these odds, any pacific party, be it Liberal, Socialist or Communist, can ever hope to gain control over the mass-mind of the German nation. The immediate effect of this policy has been to inspire the average German, in spite of his growing detestation of the Nazis, with a new fury of resistance." (H. N. Brailsford: New Statesman, Jan. 13.)

Whether a firm assurance of US participation in guaranteeing the peace-settlement could avert this policy of prolonged misery and inevitable catastrophe it is impossible to say. But in order to have any chance of averting it, the assurance must be firm. Nothing contingent can be of any avail.

average £50 a week until Christmas next.

It is plain enough that the longer the war is prolonged the more arduous and radical will be work of spiritual and moral restoration. The post-war Peace News, the post-war Sheppard Press, will need every penny we are able to accumulate. Let every reader vow to himself to give all he can during 1945, that we may take full advantage of "a Farmer's" generous challenge.

Contributions since Jan. 5: £74 11s. 10d. Total to date: £5,689 12s. 2d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

TO meet this truly critical situation, Senator Vandenberg—one of the most eminent of the serious-minded "isolationists"—has proposed that the Senate should, here and now, agree to the US being committed to guarantee the permanent disarmament of Germany, and Japan. This proposal has, very rightly, made a great impression in US, as offering a practical way of breaking the vicious circle, whereby uncertainty as to the attitude of US has been perhaps the cause, and certainly the excuse, for mutilating Europe in the interests of the military security of Russia and France. If it could be quickly implemented—and Senator Vandenberg saw no reason why such a treaty should not be signed "today"—there would be no justification whatever for the monstrous policy on which Russia and France have agreed.

Whether they would give it up is another question. But if they refuse to do so, then the responsibility will rest squarely upon them and their motives be revealed as naked *Machtpolitik*. The

plan will be plain for US to withdraw from all participation in a settlement so iniquitous; and it is devoutly to be hoped that Britain will follow suit. What is imperatively needed is a moral catalyst of the atmosphere of corruption and chicanery that hangs like a pall of death over Europe today. Senator Vandenberg's proposal may supply it.

Plan for the East

BUT there is no time to be lost. It is imperative that Senator Vandenberg's proposal should be so far advanced that Roosevelt can at his forthcoming, but still uncertain, meeting with Churchill and Stalin make the firm offer of an immediate treaty for the permanent demilitarization of Germany in return for the offer of tolerable terms to Germany, and a tolerable settlement with Poland. What these terms might be Mr. Brailsford indicates in the article from which I have already quoted.

(1) Russia can meet her need of an ice-free Baltic port without taking Königsberg. Libau is usually ice-free, and Memel always. (2) If East Prussia as a whole is assigned to Poland she will get (a) a territory capable of receiving all her nationals who may wish to migrate from the Soviet Union, (b) a stretch of Baltic coast and (c) the two good ports of Pillau and Königsberg. (3) In exchange for East Prussia, Germany should recover Danzig and the Corridor. Poland should in this case retain her rights of navigation over the Vistula with running

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

A marriage is arranged

—despite ban on fraternization

AN American infantry sergeant, writing to the *Paris Stars and Stripes*, said he found it difficult to follow the order on non-fraternization with Germans because he had "met a young lady and . . . promised her that I will return after the war to become her husband." He also said he wanted to "prove to the German home folks that we're human."

More than 100 letters were received criticizing this soldier. Here is his reply to those critics whose letters were published, as it appeared in the British edition of *Stars and Stripes*, Jan. 6:

I am inclined to believe that my critics have never been up front when the infantry had just captured a town, or else they'd never be so harsh. . . . I am one of those infantry fighters whom our generals depend upon to carry out their orders so success will be ours. Your letters do not change my mind. . . . only make me worry more about the future—when the day comes to settle our affairs with Germany. I'm afraid that there will be more like you around who will help gum up the works. . . .

Last week I shot a German soldier between the eyes and he fell as a falling tree. As I saw him fall I thought of some of my critics in the combat engineers, who don't know what the word fighting means. I think the only way to wipe the slate clean is to start with the youth and teach them what we are like. We must teach them just why there is no reason for fighting with us.

I challenge you fellows to try to think of the best method to handle this great problem facing our nation today—the problem of what to do to end these wars with Germany. It is surely not to be cruel beyond the point of necessity, for we must think of tomorrow when peace comes, when Germany will have to build anew. I agree this non-fraternization rule is a must, but I still insist that I am determined to marry this German girl after the war.

An editorial comment in the same British edition of *Stars and Stripes* (although it said German children should not be hated—"not by a long shot") declared:

We believe that . . . sergeants who fancy the frauleins are asking for more than their share of marital woe. And that the Joe who goes in for kissing German kiddies will wind up convincing mutter and fater that those dumb Americans are back again with their crazy Kultur. You know the kind—that dumkopf Yankee design for living compounded of ignorance, weak discipline, and spearmint gum.

YOU can send food to Europe

FOOD and clothing which will definitely be sent to France and Yugoslavia in the next few weeks can be received from Peace News readers by official relief agencies for the two countries. The PPU Food Relief Campaign, which ends tomorrow, gives these full details:

FRANCE: While not appealing itself for contributions, the *Entr'aide Française*, 4 St. James's Square, London, S.W.1, will be glad to receive small parcels—suitably packed. But wherever possible PPU groups and local Food Relief Committees should arrange to collect supplies from their districts and have these packed for shipment. Shipping cases can be sent direct to: The *Entr'aide Française*, c/o Carter Paterson, Ltd., 128 Goswell Rd., London, E.C.1. The following directions should be read carefully:

Tinned foods are especially suitable for export, and fats—of which there is very great need—will also be welcomed. Bread and fresh meat are, of course, too readily perishable. Clothing—especially children's garments—is also urgently required, if in good condition. All packages should bear labels, giving the name and address of the sender (and, we suggest, of the local PPU group or Food Relief Committee where appropriate) and all recipients will be told the names of the donors. The *Entr'aide Française* would be glad to receive lists of the food sent, at St. James's Square. Shipping has been arranged and a convoy from Britain to France will sail this month.

YUGO-SLAVIA: The Yugo-Slavia Emergency Committee (British) at 5 Kensington Court Gdns., London,

W.8, is able to send clothing and other every-day necessities to Yugo-Slavia via the Italian port of Bari, despite the fact that military relief, with which UNRRA is associated, has not yet overcome the obstacles in the way of large-scale relief. A small amount of shipping tonnage per month from Britain to Bari has been granted. The Emergency Committee does not at present ask for food. An explanatory leaflet "How You Can Help" is obtainable free of charge from Kensington.

A message from Stockholm last week reported that no less than eighty-one per cent. of the Swedish people are willing to reduce their rations to help feed hungry Norway. It is now possible for British people to show that their concern is no less real and practical—and to disown the policy of the British Minister of Food who says that he will send nothing that will cause us to reduce our supplies.

It is hoped and expected that Peace News readers will be glad to lead the assault—on the Kitchen Front!

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

SAVAGERY

"HORRORS have been committed during the civil war in Greece which will not be forgotten." So wrote the correspondent of The Times recently, whose despatches have been till quite lately, distinctly critical of British policy. In a later message, referring to the hostages, he speaks ominously of "those of these unfortunate people who are still alive."

And so the tale goes on. Wherever the curtain of obscurity is lifted in liberated Europe—and it is not lifted at all where Russia has done the liberating—there we have glimpses of savagery which, a generation ago, would have "shocked the conscience of the world." In ten days the newspapers of Paris carried detailed accounts of ten separate cases, in different parts of France, where political prisoners, either awaiting trial, or having been sentenced to something less than death, have been hauled out of prison and murdered. M. François Mauriac, the famous novelist, grimly described the purge as "a National Lottery"—so utterly capricious and unprincipled is the vengeance being taken.

It is fairly well established that the leading spirits in this reign of terror are the Communists. There is nothing surprising in that. Terrorism and liquidation are an integral part of the Communist tradition and technique. Had these methods not been deliberately employed by the Bolsheviks, it is doubtful whether the counter-terrorism of Fascism would ever have swept over Europe.

It is, we think, unpardonable—however great our sympathies for the Socialist ideal may be—to lose sight for one instant of the truth that the savagery, asserted as a principle and applied in practice by both Communism and Fascism, is abhorrent to the fundamental philosophy of pacifism. If pacifists permit themselves in any degree to condone savagery because it is committed in the name of a congenial ideal—Democracy or Social Revolution, they make their creed contemptible.

This gangrene of savagery is now well on the way to eating out the heart of European civilization. No matter what deceptive slogan may be embroidered on its banner it is bestial. If any truly good thing can come out of it, then we pacifists are utterly mistaken, and we had better find another faith.

It is of the utmost importance, for our own reputation, that we should refuse to be gulled. The democracy which is prepared to establish itself by savagery has nothing whatever in common with the democracy of which we profess ourselves adherents. Democracy, in our sense of the word, is based on the conception of indefeasible human rights. Lawless savagery is the absolute negation of those rights. As a writer in The Christian News Letter (Jan. 10) says:

"The secure possession of basic human rights is more important for most men than democratic forms of government. Experience shows that these rights can be secured under different forms of government. Without them, democracy, in the sense of majority rule, may be scarcely distinguishable from absolute tyranny. Democracy can thrive only when the delicate balance of privileges and obligations is resolutely maintained."

It may indeed be that Europe, ravaged and ravaged again by the indiscriminate brutality which is inseparable from total war, is incapable of reconstructing democracy. The delicate tissue of mutual trust may have been too completely destroyed. That prospect is bitter; but it may have to be borne. We shall bear it the better if our own moral vision is unclouded. Savagery begets neither liberty nor democracy—but only more savagery. Let us be fearless in condemning it from whatever quarter it comes.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

The verdict is on Beverley Nichols!

BEVERLEY Nichols reminds one of a Highland burn, brawling its way boisterously and very busily; but, unlike the burn, he takes himself very seriously.

It is very pleasant to go with him "Down the garden path," but . . . ! For example, he once wrote of the Pyramids as a locality perpetually besieged by hordes of people, and littered with orange-skin. He must have gone at the time that all the best people go. In 1938 I was one of four Europeans there: I saw half a dozen Egyptians, and, a person of no importance, I was the only visitor to the Pyramid of Cheops. There was no orange skin. My visit was a rich and treasured experience.

Since then I have been critical of Mr. Nichols even on matters of fact, and in his latest book, "Verdict on India" (a modest title, is it not?) there is more cause for remonstrance. You may not know Mr. Amerv. You may not have played with his grandchildren, and yet, having gone to India, you may slip up on things other than orange-skin.

Bad beginnings are the assumption that Britain has any moral right in India, and that British standards of life and custom are absolute. Mr. Nichols discusses Indian art and music with great volubility and self-satisfaction, yet he dismisses Rabindranath Tagore and his remarkable cultural and educational achievement as a miserable anti-climax; and with an air that just escapes contumely. Such a verdict is a self-revelation which embarrasses those who know the facts, and moves observers with compassion.

What he missed

Even the geography isn't right. Unless Santiniketan has been transported since August, 1938, it is not even in the direction of Darjeeling: you go from Howrah (Marylebone) not Sealdah (Liverpool St.) towards Bihar, not Sikkim. Santiniketan has the status of a University College, for though students go there quite young they can be ready to sit for a degree when they leave; music is deemed of great importance, but Mr. Nichols did not go there. Yet he damns Indian music, and almost solely because he discovered a musician improvising! Was it not to develop and train this very propensity that Gordon Craig ran a theatre in Italy on the lines of the old Commedia dell'Arte? At Santiniketan can be seen the common mud of the locality transformed into reliefs after the Egyptian manner, which give satisfaction to tastes as valid as Mr. Nichols'.

He smirks at Louis Bromfield's mistakes; but he wiggles his nose at the film-director who does not remove his cap. Indian manners do not make the same prescriptions as European. A servant in India who attended his employer bare-headed would be sent to cover himself. Can it be that Mr. Nichols' distress was induced because the cap was a Gandhi cap?

Sneers at Gandhi

And so to Mr. Gandhi. Having observed how undependable Mr. Nichols can be, one is still astonished that he never saw the man whom he denounces and would discredit. He sneers at Mr. Gandhi's being in gaol, the gaol of those who took and hold India by force. There is even an oblique sniff at Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment not being rigorous enough. A "palace"? A mockery. And would not Mr. Nichols have snorted if Mr. Jinnah had been gaoled in a Hindu palace! Mr. Nichols says that if he had signed a "half sheet of notepaper," but preferred to stay in gaol and "polish his halo." It would be difficult to find more mischievous ungracious nonsense than that. How Britain howled at Germany over a "scrap of paper." Were we polishing our national halo?

Mr. Nichols had three hours with Mr. Jinnah—a "giant," "the most important man in Asia," "tall, elegant, a Gentleman of Spain," stiff white collar, monocle. . . . One used to see his like in St. James's" . . . all the

*Cape. 5s. 6d.

décor of a giant and a democrat. But Mr. Gandhi is a "dictator": the man who gave up a lucrative profession to render articulate millions of his poor countrymen, who lives in an artisan's hut in a remote village where he is sought out on sheer merit, and whose garments cost a few shillings. Mr. Nichols does not understand humility, and so his scrutiny is made through an oblique magnifying glass darily. And what does one think of one who writes of another "making a corner in God"?

Religion and politics

Does not Mr. Nichols consider himself astute? Yet he writes of Mr. Gandhi's being "an astute politician" as if it were something shameful. How tired one gets of the cracked note as to not mixing politics with religion! Catholics, Protestants, co-operators, non-co-operators, Buchmanites, temperance people, of course vote for those whom they believe will render their beliefs effective; and Mr. Gandhi has declared his suspicion of those whose religion does not find some expression in politics. . . .

Thousands of words would be required to correct Mr. Nichols as he strides through the sandy foundations on which he tries to build what cannot be built. Only a few hundred are available. Why did he write the book? Let us turn to the gospel according to the Pundit Beverley as found in the preface to "Are they the same at Home?": "There is only one reason why anybody ever publishes a book, and you know it as well as I." That is in the true B.N. style: it is not accurate of everyone, but it is Mr. Nichols who said it, and he may not grumble.

J. W. Rattray

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 108

Come let me tell thee of the woes of the soldier; how that his masters are many, the general, the troop-commander, the major, the standard-bearer, the lieutenant, the scribe, the captain of fifty, the platoon-commander. They go in and out of their offices in the palace. They say "Produce the man that can work." He is awakened when but an hour hath gone, and driven about like a donkey. He worketh till the sun setteth, bringing the darkness of night. He is hungry, his body is worn out, he is dead while yet alive. He receiveth his corn ration when he is released from duty, but it is uneatable when ground.

He is called up for Syria. He hath no comfort; there are neither clothes nor sandals, for the war-equipment is being gathered at the fortress of Tharu. He marcheth high up in the mountains. He drinketh water but once in three days, and then it is brackish and tasteth like salt. His body is broken with dysentery. Then cometh the enemy and encompasseth him round about with arrows, and life is far from him. They say to him "Forward, brave soldier, win for thyself a good name!" But he is half unconscious, his knees are loosed, and his head paineth him.

When the victory cometh, his majesty handeth over the captives to be taken down to Egypt. His haversack falleth, and others pick it up. In his village are his wife and children, but he dieth and doth not reach it.

Be a scribe, and save thee from the soldier's fate. Shouldest thou cry out, there will ever be one to cry "Here am I" and to save thee from a beating.

—Free translation of ancient Egyptian papyrus, from "Literature of Ancient Egypt" (Ermano).

LETTERS

Conquest through defeat?

It may well be that the implacability of the Churchillian doctrine of unconditional surrender may hold for Germany the seed of national (and world) re-birth.

Assuming that the intention of the United Nations is indeed a practical proposition, and that every gun, tank, and U-boat is successfully removed from the German grasp; that all military "academies" are razed to the ground; and the theory of war effectively expunged from the pages of Germanic literature; what have we then?

We shall have a virile, "civilized," industrious block of population forced to discard for ever the idea of military might. Remembering the strongly pacific inclination of German young manhood in the years immediately following 1918 is it not very probable that German philosophy will turn, perhaps in sheer desperation, to a conception of non-violent acceptance of fate, and collaboration or co-operation with the victors?

Twenty or thirty years would see the virtual extinction of all that remained of "German militarism," and that may well be Germany's "finest hour," for, bereft utterly of all idea of world conquest (and witnessing probably an impending clash among the United (?) Nations) she would lead the world back to sanity.

C. W. KNOWLES

30 Northcote Ave., Sheffield, 2.

C.O.s' gratitude

Whilst I was in Leeds prison I, along with my other CO friends, received quite a number of Christmas greetings cards from friends and PPU groups with whom we have never been in touch. I wish to thank, on behalf of myself and pals left in prison, all friends and PPU groups for their cards and calendars, which were very much appreciated. I should also like to thank the Leeds PPU groups and friends for giving up their Christmas Eve to come and sing carols outside the prison. We were all very grateful for their kind service and had been looking forward to their coming.

SYDNEY HOWARD

Britain and Greece

Mr. Port, having made up his mind, on very slender evidence, that "British influence is being used to legitimize reaction in Greece," no longer condescends to argument. If his facts are challenged, he is silent.

He implied that the Greek police, because it

served the Germans effectively, must necessarily be Fascist. I pointed out that the French police also served the Germans effectively. He then says that the analogy is "absurd." Not at all. It is Mr. Port who is absurd. The analogy is clear; and the point of it was that nothing can be deduced as to the political complexion of a police force from the fact that it served the Germans. The police force of the Channel Islands is now serving the Germans.

In my opinion, Mr. Port has leapt to a hasty and unwarrantable conclusion about the Greek situation. So far he has produced not one piece of solid evidence to prove his case. My view has been that, in an exceedingly difficult and complex situation, the British policy has been reasonable and decent; and that the facile assumption that the armed insurrection of ELAS is the spontaneous manifestation of "Greek democracy" is untenable. Whether Mr. Port is right, or I, the event will show. In the meantime, he contributes more heat than light to the elucidation of an admittedly obscure situation.

His final words are a good example: "If eight years of the European civil war has left Peace News unable to discern when British influence is being used to legitimize reaction, it would be wise to give place to those equally sincere and more perspicacious democrats who have died on the battlefield for freedom."

So Peace News is to be edited by ghosts; and those not pacifist ghosts. How thrilling!

"OBSERVER"

Romain Rolland

Your notice of Romain Rolland gives the impression that he lived and died a pacifist, which is incorrect. From about 1932 Rolland was associated with the Communist Party, though I do not know if he was actually a member of that party, and he openly repudiated pacifism. This, of course, in no way affects the value of his earlier writings.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

Wimbledon.

To the best of my knowledge Romain Rolland's association with Communism was no more active than Andre Gide's—sympathy with its aims and not its methods. Towards the end of his life he turned more and more to the work of interpreting some of the great modern Indian spiritual teachers. Whether in so doing he became an out-and-out pacifist, I am unable to say.—Ed.

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THE "YOUTH" PROBLEM — a warning

ONE of the most important factors contributing to the tragedy of our times is the widespread decline of family life and the breakdown of the home. While, however, it is often appreciated that Hitler's Youth was an exploitation of this situation, it is not sufficiently recognized that the very existence of what is called the Youth Problem is a direct outcome of a falsification of moral values concerning marriage and the family—a falsification hardly conceivable except in a highly industrialized civilization such as ours, and indeed a pointer to its abnormality.

The movements therefore which tend to treat youth as a separate "class," and which have come into existence to meet an abnormal social condition in which young people are faced with special difficulties, should never be mistakenly thought of as more than first-aid measures. The evil social conditions which produce a "14 to 20 age-group" of human atoms without sturdy roots in the natural soil of family and neighbourhood, far from being cured, may even be stabilized by a multiplication of State-subsidized Youth Clubs.

In fact, the only Youth Clubs of any promise will be those which realize they are palliative rather than remedial in a radical sense, as attempts to deal with the present-day problem of youth, and in so far as Youth Clubs seek independence from the home or aim at being substitutes for the natural organisms of the family they will certainly be helping to ruin the homes of the future.

The special dangers which will follow from the fostering of youth movements, which dangers tend to grow by pressure of the vested interests such movements build up as they go along, have been well expressed in the following words:

"In a country made of families there is no separate and distinct 'class' of youth; the

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

young are an organic part of the whole family. An age-group is not an organic part of anything; it is the conclusion of a mathematical deduction. But without the natural groupings of the family and families we have to fall back on these mathematical formulae. The country becomes a vast orphanage, and in order to establish any order, the ten-year-olds, the seventeens, the twenties—ones must be bunched together in 'forms'. And upon those 'forms' we build our movements. Hitler and Mussolini have acted as diabolical foster-parents in their own two orphanages. We shall not be able to mend matters by introducing benign Christian aunts in their place; the turbulent youth of today will make them into Aunt Sallies, excellent guys for debunking Christian movements.

"A Youth Movement may be necessary so long as the orphans remain in their orphanage, and it may even be successful. . . . But they are always dangerous; they are always open to political influence. The State is anxious, often with best intentions, to make use of youth movements."

In fact there is only one true answer to the

A GREAT PIONEER:

Albert Schweitzer, doctor, thinker, and musician

The seventieth birthday of Dr. Albert Schweitzer, which brought public tributes to his work and personality by people as prominent as the Bishop of Chichester and the Master of Balliol, and was also the theme of two BBC features on Sunday, has particular interest for pacifists. Not only has Dr. Schweitzer expounded with force the ethic of "reverence for life" but his life-story shows how he himself has been gripped by it. In "The Decay and Restoration of Civilization" he has commented on the sad spectacle of churches which support war. He himself decided to devote his life to serving the sick natives of French Equatorial Africa partly because he felt that so little of value could be done in a civilization of which this spectacle was symptomatic, and partly to help to atone for some of the blots on the record of the white man's treatment of the Negro. The following appreciation of Dr. Schweitzer is by

FRITZ GROSS

THE life of Albert Schweitzer, who was seventy on Sunday, is as thrilling as a novel and mighty as a fugue by Bach. As a doctor, thinker, and musician he is a pioneer. He represents more than any other living German the spirit of Goethe.

Albert Schweitzer was born in a little Alsatian village as the son of a parson. In his physical and mental make-up he unites the heritage of a border-nation—the German and French languages, Roman Catholic and Protestant thought are combined in him.

As a young man he studied theology and music at Strasbourg University. Search for God by religion and proclamation of God by music inspired his activities. Growing up in a time when Prussian militarism and cultural nihilism joined hands in the German Empire of Bismarck, he escaped into the pure air of Bach. But he remained true enough to himself to realize his frustration.

A newspaper report awoke in the thirty-year-old man the desire to lead

a life of service. He learned of the hell in which sick negroes live and die in the African jungle. He studied and qualified in medicine and organized with the energy of a Rhodes and the circumspection of a Stanley an expedition into the swamps of the Congo. And here begins his real life.

HIS JUNGLE-HOSPITAL

Schweitzer builds up the first jungle hospital in Lambarene, builder and colonizer in one person. His best assistant is his wife, who goes with him as a nurse. Every penny which he earns in Europe as a lecturer, writer, and organist, goes to his African hospital.

But the first world war destroys his work and puts him into jail. Then he starts anew, writing between his journeys his books: "Civilization and Ethics," "Decay and Restoration of Civilization," "On the Edge of the Primeval Forest"—works simple, scientific and lively, which travel over the globe. His main work, "A World Philosophy" will certainly crown his life, a symbol of active pacifism.

Thus stands this big, heavy-built, dark man before those of us who have had the honour to listen to him, a living expression of kindness and wisdom. Devoid of any clerical dogma this man of the twentieth century lives the life of that other man, Jesus of Nazareth. Schweitzer's ideals are anti-liberal and anti-dogmatic and are influenced by a kind of mystic socialism. For imperialism, reaction, and fascism alike he has only contempt. His heroes are Bach and Goethe.

His life is a comfort and a pattern for us. As long as he lives we are not entirely lost.

NO CHRISTMAS — by order

Last week we reported the action of the Mayor of Salford in visiting wounded German prisoners, and shaking hands with one of them; also the impression made at Christmas on a nurse in a Scottish hospital by the wounded German prisoners. We have now received from another correspondent, Leopold Hughman, this "sadder Christmas story" about wounded German soldiers:

A NUMBER of German wounded in an East Anglian hospital asked the hospital authorities if they might have a little celebration at Christmas. The hospital had decorations and extra food ready for their ward, as for the others, but as a celebration had been asked for, inquiries were made of the military authorities as to what extent this could be done.

A number of German nurses on the hospital staff had arranged to sing German carols to the wounded men. The local military authorities got in touch with the War Office, who replied that for these men there was to be no recognition of Christmas at all.

So the baskets of food and decorations never went inside the ward, and the German carols remained unsung. There were English carols, of course, sung in all the other wards of the hospital, and here is the cruellest part of the story.

At the far end of the large ward containing the Germans were three English patients, some little distance away from the prisoners. The carol-singers in the course of their round came and sang to these three patients in the same ward as the Germans, who, having been denied the slightest recognition of Christmas, were forced spectators of the celebration of others.

WHAT DID THEY THINK?

What kind of candle will this incident light in Germany? Many of the Germans no doubt thought: "What utter hypocrisy to sing of 'Good will to all mankind' and to deny the sung words in the very action of singing them."

It will be remembered just as much as the action of the Mayor of Salford, and its effect will be as evil as the other is good. One can only hope it can be explained to the wounded men that it was not the doing of the hospital but of the War Office, which is not renowned for its imaginative qualities.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday, 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES available in N.W. London apply to Messrs. McCraith and Brooks, 44 The Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines).

PACIFIST MARRYING early March seeks flat or suitable accommodation in West London. Barnes preferred. Box 762.

PACIFIST WOMAN TEACHER would like to offer comfortable home in Birmingham suburb to schoolgirl or young woman. Moderate terms for board. Box 763.

SMALL HOUSE or flat wanted urgently, buy or rent, London area, for P.P.U. official. Box 771.

HOMELY BOARD LODGINGS required by C.O. in or near Stratford-on-Avon. Write Wm. Harrison, 106 Abington St., Northampton.

WANTED. To rent, 3-bedroomed house near London, preferably North but not essential. Box 784.

ORPINGTON. Furnished bed-sitting room. Suit business person. Modern detached house. Box 785.

EVACUATION BILLETTS wanted for London mother and 3 children. Any proposition considered including rental furnished. Box 789.

FLAT, BUNGALOW, or small house required by young couple in Southend, Leigh, or Hadleigh districts. Box 790.

URGENT—CARPENTER/JOINER. aged 50, and wife, bombed out, need accommodation, with or without work. Nicholson, Broad St., Brixworth, Northants.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation. all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel: Ambergate 44.)

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. (PRI. 5686.)

FOR SALE AND WANTED WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gift received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

UNICORN BRAND Foot Paste is the safe and sure remedy for corns, hard skin and warts. It never causes free ps. 9d. Get it today. We repeat—it never fails. Barker's, Station Road, Sandiacre, Notts.

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons. 30s. dozen, 18s. 6d. six, 10s. three, 3s. 6d. each, all postage paid. Mention models, colours, P.N. Hardman's, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

BRECHES, corduroy, men's, 15s. 6d. Tweed, smaller, 12s. Laced rubber boots, 9s. 6d. Pair Rascals, 12s. 6d. Polo-neck pullover, grey, 10s. 6d. Chessmen, 12s. 6d. Playing cards, 2s. 3d. Youth's cream sweater, 10s. Old raincoat, 2s. 6d. Attache case, 14 by 9in., as new, 10s. 6d. Six dinner forks, new, 17s. 6d. Horwood, The Manse, Turvey, Bedford.

SAMPLE BARGAIN ONE. Water-colour by Edward Lear (Author of "Book of Nonsense" and Queen Victoria's drawing master—but a good artist nevertheless). £2. And others! Box 785.

LAND AND COMMUNITY WANTED TO RENT or purchase, cottage and few acres. Buildings suitable cow and pony an asset. Willing help on farm for duration. Box 772.

LITERATURE, etc. QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

"LEARN TO SPEAK" by Florence Surfleet, 1s. 6d. (1s. 3d. post free) for use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109 Kingway, W.C.2.

MEETINGS, etc.

NORTH LONDON BRAINS TRUST Your Questions answered by John Barclay, Roy Walker, Sybil Morrison Donald Port. Question-master: Robert King. Jan. 20, 7 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Tottenham.

LONDON FORUM. Director, Frederick Lohr. Public lecture: W. W. Coupe on "The World Vision of Calderon." 7.15 p.m., Mon., Jan. 22, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

COME AND HEAR Reginald Sorensen, M.P., at North Finchley Baptist Church Hall, Ballards Lane, North Finchley (just by Tally Ho Corner). On Thurs., Jan. 25, at 7.45 p.m., on "Victory for Peace."

BROMLEY. Mon., Jan. 22, 8 p.m. William Morris Hall, Mason's Hill. Speaker: Edith Jones. Subject: "The Soul of Japan."

LONDON AREA P.P.U. "What kind of peace?" Series of meetings will be held on this subject in Hyde Park, Sundays, 3 p.m.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, secy, PN 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

SMALL restaurant supper parties. Heard/Huxley Group (some of), and interested public (some of). No strings. Bragg, 105a Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

LADY WOULD LIKE to correspond with another with a view to spending a walking or cycling holiday together in Cornwall or Dorset in May or June. Age 30-40. Box 782.

DRIVING EXPERIENCE required by C.O. Civil Defence, North London, when off duty. Box 795.

THE ANTI-FRANCO Movement of Britain and Mexico. Invites all friends of true Spain into our ranks. C.O.s heartily welcomed. A.F.M. Headquarters, 2 Pimlott St., Longsight, Manchester.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s 5 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

CO-OPERATIVE THEATRICAL COMPANY requires Tours Manager. Previous experience inessential. Contact Players, 27 Wilton Court, N.1.

KINGSMOOR SCHOOL, GLOSSOP, DBYS. Resident Master or Mistress for Physics and Chemistry (S.C. and H.S.C.). Resident Master or Mistress for History with French or Latin Subsidiary.

ALSO Resident Prep. School Mistress, preferably Froebel with History, (M. of L. permit held for woman born 1917 or earlier.) Salaries—Burnham scale with deduction for residence. The School is a well known co-ed. Boarding School. Apply to Headmaster.

HOUSEKEEPER-COMPANION required pacifist business lady. Excellent home modern house Middlesex. Correspondence invited. Box 777.

PLASTERERS, other Tradesmen and Labourers required for South and North London house repairs. Ring GUL. 2065. Stewart and Richards, Ltd., 34 Glenhurst Avenue, N.W.5.

WANTED. PROFESSIONAL PHOTOGRAPHER good printer, paper negatives, C.O. preferred, safe area. Box 783.

COMFORTABLE and convenient home Golders Green offered with some remuneration in return for management of house plus sympathetic care of old and somewhat helpless lady; no actual nursing; other details by personal arrangement. References exchanged. Box 786.

WORKERS with good appearance and manner wanted for Milk Bar, Bedford. Write Box 787.

WANTED, small farm near Cardiff experienced market-gardener, able to milk preferred. Good wages. Box 791.

RESIDENT DOMESTIC HELPER required; used to cooking; helpful with children. Vegetarian Home for Children, Orchard Dene, View Road Rainhill. Apply: Gordon H. Ferry, 204 South Mossley Hill Road, Liverpool, 19.

WANTED: ARTIST-CRAFTSMAN to do some teaching and be responsible for general maintenance of furniture, decorations, etc. Community basis. Apply Sherwood School, Epsom. Phone 9125.

FULL-TIME WARDENS wanted for North-West London Shelter. 72 hrs. weekly, pay £4 0s. 6d. Details from C.B.C.O. Employment Dept., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

DRIVERS WANTED for stores dept. of welfare organization. Details from C.B.C.O. Employment Dept., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE. Keer Christians needed urgently for voluntary work among boys, girls, teen age. Box 792.

ARTIST-SMALLHOLDER NEEDS girl gardener and assistant. £2 10s. p.w., room and produce. Child welcome. Windmill, Hullbridge, Essex.

WANTED for private theatre, part-time female worker with some knowledge and understanding of philosophical and esoteric ideas, some experience with voice and movement, eurhythmics or dance not ballet.

ALSO 2 workers for cooking, house, garden, repairs, horses. Five-roomed furnished cottage and garden. Spencer Watson, Dunshay, Launceston, Cornwall.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED VIOLINIST URGENTLY REQUIRES teaching of orchestral work M. of L. permit. Good references. Box 793.

FORESTRY, preferably felling, any locality, required by C.O. 8 years' varied land experience; please give details working conditions, probable duration, possibilities accommodation. Box 794.

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ALLYSOL—SEND stamps 6d. for two 20-page booklets of life-conserving information about garlic: (1) a herbal remedy with 5,000 years of history; (2) Rheumatism and Catarrhs dissolved at their root. Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

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MEAT-EATING involves cruelty! Why not try vegetarianism? Send for free literature. The Vegetarian Society, Bank Square, Whimslow, Manchester.

"LEARN TO HATE" SEQUEL

THE argument whether Dr. Barbara Simonds (quoted in PN last week) did or did not tell the conference of young students which she addressed on Jan. 2 to "learn to hate," and if so what she actually meant, has been settled by the speaker herself.

She has declared (according to the Manchester Guardian, Jan. 13) that her remark had been taken out of its context so that it appeared that she preached hate.

"This is entirely wrong," she added. "I did not say I hated the German people. My words were that we should not be afraid to hate—that is, fight by word and deed, those who are completely opposed to the progress of society. By this I mean all the leaders of Fascism, whether German, Italian, Japanese, or any other nationality."

"I think it has been proved that many of the German nation are Fascists or are fighting hard for Fascism, therefore there can be no easy peace and re-education will of necessity have to start with force. This does not mean wiping out the German people or the German nation; it is the only way of securing the future of the German people."

Sheila I. Hill, one of the students, said in a letter in the Daily Telegraph, Jan. 10, that "the views of Dr. Simonds have been grossly misrepresented. Part of her speech has been taken out of its context. She called upon us to hate evil and not any particular personification of it."

The conference itself approved a resolution on Jan. 5 expressing disapproval of the "sensational methods adopted by certain sections of the Press which so often result in distortion both of the opinions of speakers and of the reactions of their audiences."

The protest, circulated to daily papers by the Press Association, also said: "We hate fascism but not necessarily the German people."

"BRIDGE INTO THE FUTURE"

Only 65 copies of "Bridge Into the Future"—the Letters of Max Plowman—were available at the beginning of this week at the special half-price of 12s. 6d.

Five hundred copies were originally made available at this price through the generosity of an anonymous friend for genuine PPU members ordering from the PPU Bookshop.

CONSOLATION

"Malmédy, one of the objectives of the German offensive in the Ardennes, is today little more than a heap of ruins."

"The bombs which set fire to its steep-roofed, wooden houses and hurled debris into its narrow twisting streets were Allied bombs. The victims of the bombing were American soldiers and Belgian civilians."

"It is one of the grievous incidents in the air war and indicative of the dangers and difficulties that attend close-support bombing by the strategic air forces."

"Similar accidents have occurred at St. Lo and Caen. . . ."

"There is slight consolation in the fact that on Wednesday night the Luftwaffe bombed and inflicted casualties on their own troops in a village south of Malmédy."

—News Chronicle, Jan. 10.

COLLABORATION

"In accordance with international law, government servants are supposed to carry on their administrative duties under the conquering Power to avoid complete chaos, and those in Burma were so instructed when the British left."

—The Times Special Correspondent in Burma, Jan. 6.

Appeal tribunal changes

The procedure for dealing with appeals from the Midland and North Midland Local CO Tribunals has recently been reviewed, mainly in the light of present travelling facilities, and it has been decided to adjust the area boundaries of the Southern and Northern England divisions of the Appellate Tribunal. Arrangements have accordingly been made for the appeals and applications of persons residing in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire (except the Grantham area), Leicestershire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire, to be heard by the Northern England division of the Appellate Tribunal, and not, as hitherto, by the Southern England divisions.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Nottingham: Sec. now Thomas Abbott, 4 Stanford St., Nottingham (phone Nott. 44978). Delete Kingsbridge (Devon).

Paddington: Individual Adviser now George E. Hurdle, 19a Talbot Rd., W.2.

Shepherds Bush: Sec. now Miss Phyllis Hallett, Hammersmith House, Du Cane Rd., W.2.

Way to European settlement?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

powers over the railway and leased docks at Danzig and Gdynia.

"(4) With these modifications the frontiers between Germany and Poland should be those fixed at Versailles and in the subsequent partition of Upper Silesia."

"(5) Germany should indemnify Poland by delivery over a term of years of new machinery."

"(6) Poland must accept the Curzon line with such rectifications as Russia will concede to a friendly neighbour."

"(7) If such a compromise can be reached it should be published at once so as to lessen German resistance."

Mood of France

THESE terms strike me as the best that can be hoped for. Pacifist perfectionists may criticize them as too severe. They are mercy itself compared to what is now proposed. If objection is taken to the unilateral disarmament of Germany, it can only be replied that, in the world as it is today, this offers the only possibility of a settlement of Europe on other than a cynical basis of "military security." Germany disarmed, but with her integrity guaranteed by the Big Three, is infinitely better than a Germany disarmed and vindictively mutilated.

If, in combination with the Vandenberg proposal, such a compromise could be achieved, there would be some hope for peace in Europe—peace that would ultimately become self-maintaining. At present, there is no hope at all. In addition to the monstrous things proposed in the East, the proposal that France should control the Rhineland is almost equally monstrous. France has no moral title whatever to do so. It is time that blunt words were spoken about the preposterous revival of French chauvinism. The Economist (Jan. 13) alone comes near to speaking them:

"The French Press is venting its disappointment at the Big Three's failure to invite de Gaulle to take part in the next conference. . . . The mood is understandable, but the Press has helped to exaggerate it by . . . wild talk in recent weeks. When, for instance, propagandists in Paris declare the military events of the last few weeks to show that 'the war cannot be won without a powerful French army' and

when they give this as a reason for the co-optation of de Gaulle to the conference of the Big Three, they are surely lacking in those two great French virtues—realism and logic."

Outlook in Greece

THE confusion and contradiction of the news from Greece has become fantastic. Circumstantial reports (through the British Embassy) that two of the four component parties of EAM have disowned all responsibility for the civil war, have been challenged. A charge that the Communists have killed 114 Trade Union officials is countered by Mr. Laski on the ground that the trade unions are "phony." One certain thing is that a truce has been signed, leaving a very large number of civilian hostages in the hands of ELAS. Gen. Scobie, in this matter, cannot be accused of stiff-neckedness. If he had made surrender of the hostages a condition precedent, he would have been supported by public opinion in this country.

Nobody is sanguine that peace will follow the truce. What seems to be clear is that it is a relatively small minority on both sides which forced the issue. There is a general dread of a reign of terror. Unless the hostages—varying reports put them from 5,000 to 30,000—are quickly released, the work of pacification obviously cannot begin.

Role reversed

THE trouble seems now about to shift to Yugo-Slavia. King Peter, obviously after a great deal of pressure has been applied to him by the British authorities to make him accept the agreement between Subasitch and Tito, has nevertheless objected to it in a public statement.

In this case, though the situation is substantially the same as in Greece, the role of the British Government is reversed. Britain is for making Tito effective head of the Yugoslav State. It is King Peter who wants an all-party government, and the British who want him to accept a one-party one. That, of course, is because Russia has allowed that Greece lies wholly within the British sphere of influence, but not Yugo-Slavia.

WANTED TO THANK ROMMEL

Admiral of the Fleet Lord Keyes, whose son, Lt.-Col. Geoffrey Keyes, was killed on a raid on Rommel's headquarters in North Africa in 1941, paid this tribute to the German commander at Dunedin, New Zealand, on Jan. 11:

"I shall always regret that I never had the opportunity to thank Rommel for his generous behaviour to my son. Rommel paid my son a great honour. He went to kill Rommel and although he failed in his mission, he killed four of the German commander's staff officers. Rommel not only gave orders that my son be laid before the altar of an Italian church with the four officers, but also paid public tribute to his leadership and bravery and accorded him a full military funeral."

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Non-violent resistance in Norway (continued from front page)

ing, the pupils refused to accept it one day when it was the turn of a Nazi member of the staff to supervise.

Where there is Nazi control of a theatre there is practically no audience, cinemas have been boycotted for years on end for the same reason, even when private houses are overcrowded and fuel is scarce. People arrange their amusements at home and find ways of keeping art and music and culture alive.

Imprisoned

Every day there is some question to solve as to how to deal with new regulations, new efforts to coerce, trick, or force the people into the pattern of the New Order. Life has to be lived with the uncertainty of a possible house-search, and arrest as the price of any carelessness or bad luck. The number of families with some member imprisoned mounts steadily, as do those driven into exile leaving behind them homes deserted or confiscated.

In the beginning the objections of the Church were made openly by the Bishops and other well-known clergy. As these were imprisoned or banished to remote parts of the country the united resistance of the Church went on and goes on today, though guidance and unification have to be achieved in secret.

In some parishes the Nazis have put in their own nominees as clergymen, but in not a few cases they have had to give up after a time in face of the absolute refusal of the congregations to attend or co-operate in any way. The organized religious life, however, has gone on in other buildings, the people surmounting the difficulties placed in their way.

"Underground"

If freedom of speech is denied in public gatherings and the open Press, Norwegians speak freely behind closed doors. In such a small population the few Nazis and unreliable "striped" persons are known, and alongside the suspicion and distrust the Nazis create, there is an amazing confidence and trust of Norwegians in one another. The underground Press is kept going at enormous risk; these

papers not only circulate the BBC new bulletins, but contain articles on burning issues of the day and on post-war problems, and are most important in creating public opinion. This Press really is from the people, written and circulated by themselves.

Here and in innumerable private discussions it is possible to thrash out the principles and practice of daily life. Living side by side with Nazism in practice its true nature is seen and its tendencies can be counteracted. For instance the Nazi valuation of human life, which is based on race and not on the worth of individual personality, was clearly demonstrated when all people of Jewish birth were arrested during two nights in the autumn of 1942. The response was immediate, and many Norwegians risked their freedom, their homes and

HOW THE CHURCH RESISTED

THE resistance to Nazism of the State Lutheran Church of Norway, referred to in the above article, was described in some detail in Time (USA), Dec. 25.

Following the first German promises of religious freedom and a legally constituted government, the Norwegian Prime Minister, Dr. Eivind Josef Berggrav, Bishop of Oslo, appealed to the public for order. But when the German pledges were not fulfilled the Bishop's attitude changed.

"When the puppet government" (the account continues) "ordered the Church to alter its Common Prayer, omitting the King's name and substituting those of the quisling authorities, Bishop Berggrav flatly refused. His defiance lowered an organized campaign of persecution. As, one by one, the quislings attempted to thrust Norway's police, schools, and courts into the Nazi mould, the voice of the Church was lifted again and again in protest."

When, shortly before Christmas, 1940, the quisling Ministry of Police issued an order revoking the clergy's oath of silence—"Norway's 'Magna Carta' of conscience"—the seven Bishops of Norway wrote to the Minister of Church and Education denouncing the Storm Troopers' reign of terror, the attack on schools and students, the forced resignation of the Supreme Court, and asked whether the Norwegian State was still Christian. When the Minister failed to reply, the Bishops called on him

even life to save their fellow-countrymen who had thus been discriminated against. They hid the Jews in their homes and made it possible for some 600 to 700 to cross the frontier into Sweden—this is somewhat less than half the Jewish population previously in the country.

If the hatred which the Germans have aroused in Europe leads to a denunciation of people only because of their birth, this is an infection from the "racial" theory of Nazism, and must be fought in the same way as anti-semitism. At the same time, it is important that there be no under-rating of the degeneration which sets in among people who give themselves over to Nazi ideology and morality. No reconciliation or reconstruction can be based on denying, ignoring, or minimizing this evil.

in person. He warned them against "thoughtless action."

They replied with a pastoral letter declaring:

"When the government tolerates violence and injustice and brings pressure to bear on the souls of men, then the Church is the guardian of conscience."

The letter was read from pulpit after pulpit. Thousands of copies were printed. "Abashed by the Church's readiness for martyrdom," says Time, "and fearful of popular uprisings . . . the puppet government eased its campaign of terror and suppression."

Later the Church refused to support Hitler's war on Russia. Then, in February, 1942, Vidkun Quisling was reinstated as the Nazi ruler of Norway, and the seven bishops resigned their offices.

"On Easter Sunday all but 64 of the Church's 861 pastors mounted their pulpits to announce their own resignations. With this magnificent declaration of independence, the pastors at one stroke set their church free, cut off their State-provided livelihoods, left themselves facing concentration camp or death. . . . But all made clear that they would continue to carry on their work accepting 'no directions as to how God's Word should be preached.'"

Two months later the Prime Minister was arrested, and ever since has been confined alone in a log hut deep in a forest, guarded by a dozen Storm Troopers. "His wardens," reports Time, "are constantly changed lest his persuasive Christianity corrupt them."